Transformation of the Collective Identity of Ukrainian Citizens After the Revolution of Dignity (2014–2019)

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Abstract
In the modern world, there is a growing interest in the problem of forming a person's identity. The category of "identity," despite the diversity of theoretical and empirical research, remains complex. The article is devoted to the study of transformations of the collective identity of Ukrainian citizens after the Revolution of Dignity, in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war in Eastern Ukraine. In the period from 2013 to 2019, there have been radical changes in many spheres of public life in Ukraine. The Revolution of Dignity, the annexation of the Crimea, and the war in the Donbas all led to significant political, legal, and socio-economic and socio-cultural changes that contributed to the processes of the transformation of the collective identity of Ukrainian citizens. The aim of this article is to study the dynamics of the changes in the collective identity of Ukrainian citizens after the Revolution of Dignity through the prism of the integrative approach.

Key Words: The Revolution of Dignity, collective identity, national identity, European identity, Russian-Ukrainian war, citizens of Ukraine.

Introduction

The question of the spiritual features of ethnic groups, nations, and civilizations has been urgent throughout the entire historical development of the social sciences and humanities, and has had the most diverse solutions. Scholars have tried not only to explore the peculiarities of collective and individual subjects' identity, but also to propose new methodological approaches to the problem. As a rule, identification issues emerge full blown in time of crisis and transitional periods of society's development, when there is a need for a new self-determination of society and the choice of new political-legal, socio-economic, and socio-cultural models of development. In this regard, transitional and crisis periods can be viewed as a special turning point in the development of society and the individual, when not only cardinal transformations

occur in many areas, but also searches for a new identity begin for large social groups, ethnic groups, nations, and countries, which stipulates identity change also at the individual level. As for the modern social sciences and humanities, analysis of the identity transformation of individual and collective subjects in different countries of the world remains relevant. For the Ukrainian social sciences and humanities, research on various kinds of transformations of Ukrainian citizen identity in the post-Soviet period is no less relevant.[1]

The further civilizational development of Ukraine requires not only the protection of national independence and state sovereignty and the restoration of state territorial integrity, but also the realization of national interests and the achievement of political stability and national unity based on a positive collective identity of Ukrainian citizens. Today, the problem of the transformation of collective identity after the Revolution of Dignity has a practical relevance for Ukraine, its importance is increasing in the conditions of the temporary occupation of Ukrainian territories and military aggression of the Russian Federation against Ukraine. It should be borne in mind that a characteristic of the modern period of the development of Ukraine is its post-colonial, post-Soviet, post-totalitarian, and post-genocidal legacy, which greatly complicates the deployment of positive identification processes in Ukrainian society.

Identity as an Object of Research

The phenomenon of human identity has for a long time attracted the attention of representatives of many social and humanities fields, each of which makes its own contribution to the discussion and solution of the problem. In philosophy, the problem of identity was developed beginning with separate reflections by Aristotle, continuing with the works of John Locke, David Hume, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling,

1 The authors of the article are very grateful to Leonid Leonidovych Sadovskyi and Oksana Volodymyrivna Miiakovska-Radysh (Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, New York), Suhoniako Oleksandr Anatoliiovych (President of the Association of Ukrainian Banks) and Mykola Mykolaiovych Drobotenko (President of the International Charitable Organization "Foundation for the Advancement of Capable and Gifted Youth") for their significant organizational and financial support, as well as to undergraduate and graduate students of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv for their work as interviewers. We thank the Renaissance Foundation, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the International Academy of Science and Higher Education (London, UK), and the State Foundation for Basic Research for their organizational and financial support of our research, as well as the diplomas and certificates received for our research on transformations of collective identity in 1991–2015 (Diplomas "In the forefront of science" 2011–09–21, "SOPHIST" No. DS-012/0086, No. DA-012/0047, No. DA-013/0151, "Sophist" No DS-013/0174, GISAP.EU No BC-013/0172 (ID No. 981), "Scientific Thought Leader" No. DA 014/00988; Socrates-Impulse Certificates No SI 013/0021, NRAF-UA 00046, No S/2015–0181, Sokrates-Impulse TVU 09122015–54 and others). Thanks are also due to anonymous referees for their comments on earlier drafts of this article.

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, and other thinkers. Their successors explored the relationship between the concepts of "identity," "similarity," the "I," "selfness," "identity," structure, criteria of different forms of identity, and the nature of the interaction of I—Another.

The term "identity" was used for the first time by William James, an American psychologist and philosopher, who emphasized such characteristics of the individual as the struggle of one's own and another's identity and conformity to oneself and society.[2] In his work, *Die Idee der Staatsräson in der neueren Geschichte* (1924), outstanding German historian Friedrich Meinecke identified two types of a nation: a cultural nation (*Kulturnation*) and a state nation (*Staatnation*). This definition has become very productive, as today's distinction between ethnic and political nations is based thereon.

The first concepts of identity were presented in the works of Sigmund Freud, Erik Homburger Erikson, Henri Tajfel, John Turner, and others. In particular, Sigmund Freud's arguments about the identification of people in a mass, as well as the first use of the term "identification," were recorded in his book *Mass Psychology and Analysis of the Human Self* (1925), written in 1921.[3] Later, his thoughts became the foundation for a modern understanding of both individual and collective identity.

The French philosopher Paul Ricoeur, and one of the founders of interactionism, George Herbert Mead, explain the concept of identity in their research through the category of "selfness."[4]

American psychologist Erik Homburger Erikson introduced the concept of "identity" in a broad scholarly context and broadly popularized it. He began to study ethnic identity as early as the 1940s and 1950s, drawing attention to the historical conditionality of the formation and evolution of identity.[5] Erikson considered human identity as a procedural phenomenon, linking the stages of identity formation with life crises that separate one stage of the human life cycle from another. The researcher identified three main types of identity: positive, negative, and mixed. In particular, positive social identity is achieved as a result of a favorable assessment of a group in comparison with relevant social groups. Erikson stressed that throughout life an individual overcomes a number of crises associated with the formation of own identity.[6]

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2 William James, "Lichnost [Personality]," in *Psikhologiia lichnosti: teksty*, eds. Yuliia Gippenreiter and Andrei Puzyrei (Moscow: Izd-vo MGU, 1982), 105.

3 Sigmund Freud, *Psihologiia mass i analiz chelovecheskogo "Ja"* [*Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*] (Moscow: Sovremennye problemy, 1925), 24–36.

4 George Herbert Mead, "Internalizovannye drugie i samost [The Internalized Others and Self]," in *Amerikanskaia sotsiologicheskaia mysl*, ed. E. Kravchenko (Moscow: Izd-vo MGU, 1994), 120–21; Paul Ricoeur, *Ya-sam kak drugoi* [*Oneself as Another*] (Moscow: Izd-vo gumanitarnoi literatury, 2008).

5 Erik H. Erikson, *Identity and the Life Cycle. Selected Papers* (New York: International Universities Press, 1959), 52.

6 Erik H. Erikson, *Identichnost: yunost i krizis* [*Identity: Youth and Crisis*] (Moscow: Flinta, 2006).

A British researcher of identity, nations, and nationalism, Anthony David Smith, proved in his works the existence of continuity between modern nations and ethnic communities in existence from ancient times. The author emphasized that modern nations arose when fully formed ethnic groups accepted the idea of political sovereignty. Smith's important scholarly achievements include the introduction of the concept of "ethnos" into English-language scientific discourse, explications of the differences between civil and ethnic types of nationalism and nations, a clarification of the essence of ethnic and national identity, and the thesis that nations have their own "ethnic core."[7]

British researcher Jaroslav Krejci and Belgian scholar Vitezslav Velimsky developed and supplemented Friedrich Meinecke's classification in 1981. In particular, these scientists determined which nations can be considered full-scale nations (that is, both political and ethnic). According to the selected criteria, Ukrainians are considered a full-scale nation.[8]

French researcher Serzh Moskovichi (Serge Moscovici) introduced the concept of the "identification matrix." He states that a certain set of identities of an individual is placed in the "cells" of his identity matrix. This matrix has basic and peripheral identities.[9]

University of California sociology professor Rogers Brubaker, analyzing the relationship between an ethnic group and a nation, suggests looking at these phenomena more broadly, understanding them in relational, procedural, dynamic, and event-based terms.[10]

Today, belonging to a particular ethnic community is studied, as a rule, from the positions of two concepts: the theory of social identity of Henri Tajfel and John Turner, and John Widdup Berry's model of two dimensions of identity. Tejfel and Turner put forward a general principle that group identification is inextricably linked to differentiation. Social identity in a broad sense is the result of the process of comparing one's group with other social objects; in search of a positive social identity, an individual or group seeks to self-identify, separate oneself or itself from others, and assert one's or its autonomy.[11] According to Berry's acculturation theory, group members can exhibit four types of attitudes in group interaction: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. John Berry proposed a model of two dimensions of ethnic identity.

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7 Anthony D. Smith, "National Identity and the Idea of European Unity," *International Affairs* 68.1 (1992): 55–76.

8 Jaroslav Krejci and Vitezslav Velimsky, *Ethnic and Political Nations in Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1981), 58–59.

9 Serge Moscovici, "Sotsialnye predstavleniia: Istoricheskii vzgliad [Social Views: A Historical View]," *Psikhologicheskii zhurnal* 15.1 (1995): 3.

10 Rogers Brubaker, *Ethnicity without Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

11 Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner, "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior," in *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. Stephen Worchel and William G. Austin (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1986), 7–24.

It includes four types of ethnic identity: 1) monoethnic identity that coincides with the official ethnicity, 2) monoethnic identity with a foreign ethnic group, 3) biethnic identity, and 4) marginal identity.[12]

The Phenomenon of Collective Identity

It is known that the identification problem was actualized in the 20th century. Different aspects of this problem were studied within the frameworks of psychology, sociology, philosophy, history, political science, anthropology, ethnology, pedagogy, etc. New approaches to the study of identity from various theoretical and methodological positions were represented by Jan Assman,[13] Martyin Barrett,[14] Marco Cinnirella,[15] Anthony Smith,[16] and Samuel Hantington,[17] among others. Well-known Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian researches (Stefaniia Andrusiv,[18] Petr Hnatenko and Valentyna Pavlenko,[19] Ola Hnatiuk,[20] Yaroslav Hrytsak,[21] Kostiantyn Kysliuk,[22] Mykola Kozlovets,[23]

12 John W. Berry, "Acculturation and Psychological Adaptation: An Overview," in *Journeys into Cross-Cultural Psychology*, eds. A.-M. Bouvy, F. J. R. van de Vijver, P. Boski, and P. G. Schmitz (Lisse: Swets and Zeitlinger Publishers, 1994), 139–40.

13 Jan Assmann, *Kulturnaia pamiat: Pismo i pamiat o proshlom i politicheskaia identichnost v vysokikh kulturakh drevnosti* [*Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*] (Moscow: Yazyki slavianskoi kultury, 2004).

14 Martin Barrett, Tatiana Riazanova and Margarita Volovikova, *Razvitie natsionalnoi, etnolingvisticheskoi i religioznoi identichnosti u detei i podrostkov* [*Development of National, Ethno-Linguistic, and Religious Identity Among Children and Adolescents*] (Moscow: Izdatelstvo Instituta psikhologii RAN, 2001).

15 Marco Cinnirella, "Exploring Temporal Aspects of Social Identity: The Concept of Possible Social Identities," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 28.2 (1998): 227–48.

16 Anthony D. Smith, *Natsionalna identychnist* [*National Identity*] (Kyiv: Osnovy, 1994).

17 Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996).

18 Stefaniia Andrusiv, *Modus natsionalnoi identychnosti: Lvivskyi tekst 30-kh rokiv XX st.* [*The National Identity Modality: The Lviv Text of the 1930s*] (Ternopil: Dzhura, 2000).

19 Petr Gnatenko and Valentina Pavlenko, *Identichnost: filosofskii i psikhologicheskii analiz* [*Identity: Philosophical and Psychological Analysis*] (Kyiv: OOO "Art-Press," 1999).

20 Ola Hnatiuk, *Proshchannia z imperiieiu: Ukrainski dyskusii pro identychnist* [*Farewel to the Empire: Ukrainian Discussions on Identity*] (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2005).

21 Yaroslav Hrytsak, *Strasti za natsionalizmom. Istorychni esei* [*A Passion for Nationalism. Historical Essays*] (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2004), 188–97.

22 Kostiantyn Kysliuk, "Ukrainska identychnist: istoryko-kulturni retrospektyvy ta suchasni perspektyvy [Ukrainian Identity: Historical and Cultural Retrospectives and Modern Perspectives]," *Filosofska dumka* 3 (2018): 48–65.

23 Mykola Kozlovets, "Natsionalna identychnist yak sotsiokulturnyi fenomen [National Identity as a Sociocultural Phenomenon]," *Visnyk Zhytomyrskoho derzhavnoho universytetu imeni Ivana*

Taras Kuzio,[24] Mykola Riabchuk,[25] Svetlana Ryzhakova,[26] Mykhailo Stepyko[27] and others) studied ethnic, religious, regional, civic, and national identity, as well as ethnic and national self-consciousness.

The phenomenon of collective identity was one of the first to be studied by Italian scientists Alberto Melucci[28] and Alessandro Pizzorno,[29] later, by Peter Berger, Thomas Luckmann,[30] and other scholars. Alberto Melucci began to develop the category of NSM –New Social Movements in 1985, based on the notion of "collective identity." He emphasized that collective identity is formed as a result of a joint interactive process of the self-determination of a certain number of individuals (or groups) associated with the specific orientations of their actions, having a field of opportunities and restrictions in which their joint activity takes place.[31] Alessandro Pizzorno defines collective identity as the self-determination of a group that is shared by all its members and derives from their common interests, experience, and solidarity. The formation of collective identity involves the struggle for cultural recognition.[32] Therefore, the formation and development of collective identity are mediated by an appeal to the universal phenomena of culture and the actualization of basic semantic processes.[33] The concept of "collective identity" covers the certain collective "We" of a specific community or a specific group (regional, religious, ethnic, national, civilizational, etc.), on the basis of which different forms of collective identity (regional, religious, ethnic,

Franka 60 (2011): 3–11.

24 Taras Kuzio, *Ukraine. State and National Building* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998).

25 Mykola Riabchuk, *Vid Malorosii do Ukrainy: paradoksy zapizniloho natsiietvorennia* [*From Little Russia to Ukraine: The Paradoxes of Late Nation-Building*] (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2000).

26 Svetlana Ryzhakova, "Kanony natsionalnykh kultur: opyty Gollandii, Danii i Latvii 2000-kh godov [The Canons of National Cultures: Experiences of the Netherlands, Denmark and Latvia of the 2000s]," *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 3 (2011): 76–88.

27 Mykhailo Stepyko, *Ukrainska identychnist: fenomen i zasady formuvannia* [*The Ukrainian Identity: Phenomenon and Principles of Formation*] (Kyiv: NISD, 2011).

28 Alberto Melucci, "Getting Involved: Identity and Mobilization in Social Movements," *International Social Movement Research* (1988): 329–48.

29 Alessandro Pizzorno, "Some Other Kind of 'Otherness': A Critique of Rational Choice Theories," in *Development, Democracy and the Art of Trespassing*, ed. A. Foxley, M. McPherson, and G. O'Donnel (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), 355–73.

30 Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *Sotsialnoe konstruirovanie realnosti. Traktat po sotsiologii znaniia* [*The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*] (Moscow: "Medium," 1995).

31 Alberto Melucci, *Challenging Codes: Collective Action in the Information Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

32 Pizzorno, "Some Other Kind of 'Otherness,'" 357.

33 Tetiana Voropaieva, "Identifikatsiia kak psikhologicheskii mekhanizm formirovaniia etnicheskogo samosoznaniia [Identification as a Psychological Mechanism for the Formation of Ethnic Identity]," *Mir psikhologii i psikhologiia v mire* 1 (1995): 7–12.

national, civilizational, etc.) are identified. Thus, collective identity (as a general sense of belonging to a particular group, community, or society) reflects the most significant relationships between people; such an identity is always rooted in real social practices and relationships.[34] That is why collective identities can be regarded as communicative constructs, discursive facts that need to be correctly interpreted,[35] identifying those socio-cultural horizons, which are hidden behind them.

Since most modern researchers believe that identity is a result of the identification process (which is considered a process of assimilation, self-identification, or own reference to a group with someone or something), the phenomenon must be considered a dynamic structure that develops throughout human life, its development being nonlinear and uneven, able to unfold in both progressive and regressive directions, passing through stages of overcoming identity crises. During early periods of life, identification with "significant people" is important for successful integration into the socium. The formation of identity suggests an ability for emotional resonance with other people. The main function of identity consists of providing adaptation to a new social setting and preserving the determinacy and integrity of personality.

An analysis of contemporary research and publications, in which the solution of the problem is initiated, allows us to distinguish previously unresolved aspects of the problem. British scholar Zygmunt Bauman noted that in a globalized world identity becomes a dominant discourse of science and everyday life because identity acts as a kind of "prism," through which many important features of modern life are evaluated and studied.[36]

Nowadays, the problem of identity is presented in almost all branches of the social sciences and humanities. Of course, these studies are not always harmonized, featuring various theoretical and methodological principles. This complicates both theoretical generalizations and comparisons of the results of empirical studies. However, there are several theoretical positions that are universally accepted for most modern identity researchers: 1) the inclusion of the concept of "identity" into the problems associated with the formation of motivation, the development of subjectity, and the assimilation of values, 2) the shifting scientific concentration of researchers from the structural

34 Nina Averianova, "Natsionalna identychnist u konteksti konsolidatsii ukrainstva [The National Identity in the Context of the Consolidation of Ukrainianess]," in *Formuvannia stratehii mizhnarodnoi komunikatsii osobystosti uchnia v ontohenezi: vid metodyky do metodolohii. Tezy mizhnarodnoi naukovo-praktychnoi konferentsii* (Melitopol: FOP Odnoroh T. V., 2018), 5–8; Tetiana Voropaieva, "Stanovlennia i rozvytok tsyvilizatsiinoi identychnosti hromadian Ukrainy [The Formation and Development of the Civilizational Identity of Ukrainian Citizens]," in *Suchasne ukrainstvo: tsyvilizatsiini vyklyky ta vidpovidi: monohrafiia* (Kyiv: "Kyivskyi universytet," 2017), 56–79.

35 John W. Berry, Ype H. Poortinga, Marshall H. Segall and Pierre R. Dasen, *Cross-Cultural Psychology: Research and Applications* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

36 Zygmunt Bauman, Individualizirovannoe obshchestvo [*The Individualized Society*] (Moscow: Logos, 2002), 176.

characteristics of identity to procedural ones, and 3) statement of the personality identity crisis in the conditions of "fluid" modernity, which gives each individual an infinite field of choice, or provokes the refusal and loss of his own subjectity.[37]

Thus, it is necessary to attract the results of both theoretical and empirical research, since without this it is impossible to reach an integrative level of the understanding of the set problem.

Research Methodology and Novelty

Most scholars believe that identification is a fundamental process of individual self-determination, and identity is the result of this process. Identity is a phenomenon that is based on the dialectical interconnection of society and the individual, and characterizes the quality of that interconnection. After all, the individual becomes involved in many social bonds and performs many social roles that are reflected in individual and collective identity.

All forms of social identity are related to the individual's ability to answer the question "Who am I?" in relation to various groups and communities. Since an individual is simultaneously a member of many groups, a system of identities that correspond to various spheres of his experience and activity (age, gender, family, territorial, ethnic, national, religious, professional, subcultural, continental, etc.) is formed. All these identities are arranged in a certain system hierarchy. This hierarchy is a relatively stable entity that can either be reproduced unchanged, or radically restructured. All identification rearrangements and reproductions depend on certain contexts and situations, as well as on the decisions and actions of the individual himself. The dominant identity can determine the specifics of hierarchization, structuring, and subordination of other identities, as well as determine their interaction. Various needs, perceptions, tastes, emotions, feelings, interests, principles, beliefs, aesthetic and ethical priorities, motives, worldview and values, and meanings of the individual affect the structuring and re-structuring of their own hierarchy of identities.

Identification processes can be conscious and unconscious. For example, a child may unconsciously liken himself to another significant person as a certain model, based on emotional connections, empathy, and so on. The formation of a child's identification system is influenced by a whole range of different factors, of which the most important are contacts with "significant others" (i. e., with significant people). In adolescence and in teen years, value-semantic formations of the highest level begin to play the leading influence on the formation of the identity system of the individual.

Identity is not a static, but a dynamic entity. The identity system of an individual is formed when its various components begin to function as a single mechanism.

37 Tetiana Voropaieva, "Transformatsiia natsionalnoi identychnosti hromadian Ukrainy (1991–2001 rr.) [The Transformation of the National Identity of Ukrainian Citizens (1991–2001)]," *Visnyk Kyivskoho natsionalnoho universytetu imeni Tarasa Shevchenka. Seriia Ukrainoznavstvo* 6 (2002): 12–17.

Therefore, identity is a systemic, multi-component and multi-level formation of human psychics. Any new identity of an individual is able to "integrate" into the existing system of their identities. There may be either harmonious or disharmonic relationships between the components of this system. All components of this system have many degrees of freedom, which makes it difficult to study different forms of identity. That is why it is impossible to study several forms of identity within a 100% framework (scholarly articles with such results appear quite often), since each of them is an important subsystem that can develop independently in any direction, in particular, each identity can grow from the lowest to the highest level (from 0% to 100%). Thus, each form of identity must be studied separately, allowing to compare levels of development of various forms of identity, as well as identities that are dominant within the system hierarchy.

Collective identity is associated with the processes of the individual acceptance of certain group ideas, norms, and values, with readiness for such a way of thinking as an expression of common feelings, and to allow collective actions for the sake of realizing common interests. In times of crisis and during periods of political, economic, and social instability, collective identity can form a basis for the sustainable social solidarity of people.

Thus, the identification system of a personality represents an active integrating principle that reflects its involvement (and not only attachment) to various groups and communities, promotes the deployment of subject self-regulation and the formation of an appropriate orientation of its own activities. The identification system is able to coordinate various meanings, values, experiences, and attitudes with the world in the inner world of the personality, while preserving the autonomy and authenticity of the personality. To research identity (as a systemic, multi-component and multi-level formation), an integrative approach, allowing the study of various types of identity in their systematic integrity and taking into account conscious and unconscious aspects of identification processes, is most appropriate. The integrative approach helps to find methods that are adequate to the phenomenon under study, taking into account all the features and levels of its development. The methodological basis of the integrative approach is the philosophical idea of human integrity.

The originator of the integrative approach in science in European philosophy is considered to be Immanuel Kant, who expressed the idea of the integrity of human nature, highlighting the hierarchical levels of its psyche. At the beginning of the 20th century, philosophical anthropology, which continued the development of Kant's ideas, began to be formed in Germany. In 1972 Jean Piaget wrote about situations when it became necessary to integrate concepts and methods of various disciplines that were similar in their structure, methods, and ways of checking results.[38]

Modern American philosopher and writer Ken Wilber was the founder of integral metatheory, designed to combine into one dialectical whole the science of the world

38 Jean Piaget, "L'epistemologie des Relations Interdisciplinaires," in *L'interdisciplinarite: problemes d'enseignement et de recherche dans les universites* (Paris: OCDE, 1972), 154–71.

and of a human, the traditions of Eastern mysticism and Western rationalism, and external experience and internal mental states. Ken Wilber, by developing the ideas of Immanuel Kant, Franz Brentano, Wilhelm Dilthey, and Carl Jung, created a complete picture of human consciousness evolution and described a multi-level spectrum of psychic reality. The concept of "integral" means combining methods and theories into a single complex model that has proven to be correct in certain contexts, rejecting reductionism. It was Ken Wilber who developed the theoretical and practical provisions of the integral approach, the purpose of which is to constructively combine discoveries made in various fields of human activity (psychology, sociology, philosophy, mysticism and religious studies, postmodern movements, empirical science, systems theory, etc.[39]).

The main characteristics of the current state of modern science is postnonclassical rationality (with its interdisciplinary discourse, hermeneutic style of thinking, paradigm tolerance (Vyacheslav Stiopin); the network principle of knowledge organization (Geoffrey F. Chew); the "critical self-reflection of discipline" (Kenneth J. Gergen); the "legalization of internal-subjective experience" (Andrei Yurevich), as well as the tendency for the integration of scientific knowledge[40]). This allows us to eliminate a confrontation between the "sciences of spirit" and the "science of nature" and to organize not only interdisciplinary, but also transdisciplinary discourse. Therefore, postnonclassical rationality can be a specific instrument for analyzing multidimensional phenomena "with increased epistemological and ontological complexity" (George Alexander Kelly), which includes identification processes in Ukrainian society.

It is necessary to clearly distinguish different levels of integrity: 1) complex (representing the integrative processes of the lower level), 2) synthesis (representing the integrative processes of the middle level), and 3) integration (representing integrative processes of a higher level, involving the close interaction of several sciences (or scholarly branches), which comprehensively and simultaneously study the same subject or object), which correlate with polydisciplinary, interdisciplinary, and transdisciplinary methodological strategies. Transdisciplinary research can not only cross disciplinary boundaries, but can also "transfer" scientific schemes, categories, strategies, and practices from one disciplinary area to another.[41] Thus, the study of the problem of the transformation of the collective identity of Ukrainian citizens will not be complete unless one goes beyond the narrow-disciplinary limits of a particular science (for example, sociology, social psychology, cultural studies, etc.).

Thus, transdisciplinary research strategies can integrate new facts, knowledge, and results of theoretical and empirical research into a coherent system that contributes

39 Ken Wilber, "Introduction to Integral Theory and Practice: IOS Basic and the AQAL Map," *AQAL Journal of Integral Theory and Practice* 1 (2005): 2–38.

40 Tetiana Voropayeva, "Formation of Collective Identity of Citizens of Ukraine in the Post-Colonial Period," *Virtus: Scientific Journal* 27 (2018): 23–26.

41 Elena Kniazeva, "Transdistsiplinarnye strategii issledovanii [The Transdisciplinary Research Strategies]," *Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta* 10 (2011): 193–201.

to a deeper study of various objects and phenomena. The heuristic potential of using transdisciplinary research strategies in studying transformations of collective identity after the Revolution of Dignity lies in the fact that they allow: 1) to establish a connection between different forms of the collective identity of Ukrainian citizens, 2) to promote an optimal understanding of the specificity and dynamics of identification processes at several levels of reality simultaneously, "crossing" the boundaries of specific disciplines, and 3) to create a universal picture of the object studied. In this case, the integration of diverse methodological strategies (philosophy, history, sociology, political science, ethnology, cultural studies, civiliology, social psychology, philosophical and socio-cultural anthropology) aimed at studying various aspects of identification processes in Ukrainian society and the synchronous and diachronic representations of such processes, which enables the creation of a mutually agreed transdisciplinary research network with an actively functioning system of conceptual bridges, is possible.

The conceptual methodological core of the research is the integrative analysis of the collective identity as a complex, multi-level and multi-component system. The study is based on a conceptual position: any form of collective identity is a system, which consists of separate parts, linked by certain relations; this system is in the process of continuous development and interaction with the environment. In particular, national identity consists of a national-cultural identity (formed within the framework of an ethnic nation) and a civic-political identity (formed within the framework of a political nation). Accordingly, European identity consists of continental (geographically motivated) and a civilizational (value-motivated) identity. Some researchers consider collective identity to be a one-dimensional object and study all its varieties to a 100% degree. However, it is necessary to explore each subsystem of collective identity separately, and the hierarchy of different forms of collective identity should be determined using the ranking method.

The integrative approach allowed us to take into account the following theoretical and methodological foundations in the research: 1) a clear distinction between ethnic and national existence, ethnic and national identity, ethnic and political nation, 2) taking into account the fact that during their cultural and historical development, Ukrainians changed their ethnonym, but after the ethnonym was changed, the people (Rusyns-Ukrainians) remained their former selves; the preservation of the collective "We" and collective identity is due to the legacy of historical memory, ethnic mentality, and national identity, 3) a systematic study of the process of the formation and development of the collective identity of Ukrainians in the context of ethnogenetic, nation-forming, sociocultural, informational, and civilizational processes, 4) the study of the Ukrainian nation as full-scale (which, according to the well-known international classification of Jaroslav Krejčí and Vitezslav Velimsky, is both ethnic and political), without departing from the tribal, ethnic, and national stages of development of the Ukrainian people, 5) mandatory study of the systemic role of the axiological and noetic (semantic) dimension of the processes of the self-identification of individual and collective subjects, 6) basing the study of civilizational identity on scientific ideas

about civilization as a supra-ethnic, supra-national, and supra-state community, and 7) considering that without completing the process of forming a Ukrainian political nation and at the same time preserving its own identity, Ukraine will not be a competitive state in the world.

Identification processes are inextricably linked with the cognitive, emotional, value-semantic and conative spheres of a personality, due to its needs, motives, goals and attitudes, induced by normative, landmark, symbolic, figurative, and axiological systems of culture. For example, national identity is a dynamic structure that develops non-linearly and unevenly in the process of human socialization, and resides in identifying oneself with a specific national community. For a full-fledged formation of national identity, semantic connections are needed (specific dynamic formations), that not only "sew" together the personality and its national community, combining the value-semantic sphere of the personality and the value-semantic universe of the national culture, but also act as a bridge between the social, cultural, and fundamental spiritual and ideological basis for the formation of any collective identity. The ideological systems of the Ukrainian people (mythological, religious, scientific, and philosophical) represent not only different semantic stratifications in Ukrainian spirituality, but also the semantic content of Ukrainian life. The actualization of the ideological, imaginative, and semantic content of culture greatly accelerates the process of the crystallization of Ukrainian objective reality. Thus, for the formation of national identity, semantic links between the individual and his national community, as well as a clearly structured semantic field of Ukrainian identity, are of extreme necessity.[42]

It is known that any political, economic, historical, or ethno-cultural information requires semantic processing while it is being assimilated. After all, meaning is a "unit" of the inner world of a person (Aleksei Leontev), and "striving for meaning" is one of the main motivational tendencies of a person. However, life's senselessness causes people to experience such conditions as an existential vacuum, detachment, depression, loss of faith, etc. (Viktor Emil Frankl). Semantic content can become a determinant of the ideological design of the semantic field of Ukrainian identity (both individual and collective). Thus, objects that contain sensitive information and use various forms (landmark, symbolic, figurative, axiological, etc.) of semantic content representation can become not only a source of Ukrainian academic competence, but also a system-forming factor of a worldview centering of the semantic field of Ukrainian identity. It is in the adequate informational formalization of such a semantic field that the possibility of the rapid spread of joint identities and corresponding identification practices (conservative-retrospective, constructive-perspective, desacralizing, etc.) are embedded. But the information and psychological war (which has been waged

42 Tetiana Voropaieva, "Ukrainstvo ta yevropeiski tsinnosti. Vid Revoliutsii na hranyti do Revoliutsii hidnosti: tsinnisnyi vymir [Ukrainianness and European Values. From the Revolution on Granite to the Revolution of Dignity: Valuable Dimensions]," in *Suchasne ukrainstvo: tsyvilizaciini vyklyky ta vidpovidi: monohrafiia* (Kyiv: "Kyivskyi universytet," 2017), 96–144.

against the Ukrainian people for many years) distorts not only the internal structure of the identification matrices of the citizens of Ukraine, but also the meaningful content of these matrices, causing semantic destruction and semantic differences in the understanding of Ukrainian history, Ukrainian national interests, the activities of prominent Ukrainian figures, fighters for freedom and independence by Ukrainian citizens.[43]

Investigation of the Transformations of the Collective Identity of Ukrainian Citizens after the Revolution of Dignity and in the Context of the Russian-Ukrainian War in Eastern Ukraine

In 2013–2019 studies of diverse transformations in Ukraine, which were caused by the Revolution of Dignity, were conducted. The results of these studies were represented in the works of Andriy Lyubarets, Solomiia Onufriv, Olha Sinkevych, and others.[44]

Back in 1996, Rogers Brubaker rightly argued that when the USSR dissolved, the Ukrainian state adopted a civic rather than an ethnic definition of what it means to be "Ukrainian."[45] Catherine Wanner notes that the norm in Ukraine has become a bilingualism in which communication between people does not require switching to the language of the conversant, whether Ukrainian or Russian.[46] Andrei Tsygankov considers the Russian-Ukrainian crisis as a clash of identities between supporters of the pro-European Revolution of Dignity and the "East Slavic Orthodox civilization."[47] Grigore Pop-Eleches and Graeme Robertson, using a panel survey with pre- and post-2014 iterations, observe that there has been "a large fall in support for a close political and economic relationship with Russia."[48]

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43 Tetiana Voropaieva, "Informatsionnaia bezopasnost kak faktor ukrepleniia oboronosposobnosti Ukrainy [Information Security as a Factor of Strengthening the Defense Potential of Ukraine]," *GISAP: Sociological, Political and Military Sciences* 10 (2016): 7–11.

44 Solomiia Onufriv, "Transformatsiia identychnosti ukrainskoho suspilstva pid chas Revoliutsii Hidnosti [The Transformation of the Identity of Ukrainian Society During the Revolution of Dignity]," *Visnyk Lvivskoho Universytetu. Seriia Zhurnalistyka* 41 (2016): 225–31; Olha Sinkevych, *Sotsialni praktyky masovoi kultury: identyfikatsiinyi dyskurs* [*The Social Practices of Mass Culture: Identification Discourse*] (Lviv: LNU imeni Ivana Franka, 2015); Andriy Liubarets, "The Politics of Memory in Ukraine in 2014: Removal of the Soviet Cultural Legacy and Euromaidan Commemorations," *Kyiv-Mohyla Humanities Journal* 3 (2016): 197–214.

45 Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 19.

46 Catherine Wanner, "'Fraternal' Nations and Challenges to Sovereignty in Ukraine: The Politics of Linguistic and Religious Ties," *American Ethnologist* 41.3 (2014): 427–39.

47 Andrei Tsygankov, "Vladimir Putin's Last Stand: The Sources of Russia's Ukraine Policy," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 31.4 (2015): 296.

48 Grigore Pop-Eleches and Graeme B. Robertson, "Identity and Political Preferences in Ukraine—Before and After the Euromaidan," *Post-Soviet Affair* 34.2–3 (2018): 107–18.

Elise Giuliano analyzes why the Maidan demonstrations generated a deep sense of alienation among many Ukrainian citizens in Donetsk and Luhansk. The author thinks, that political alienation and separatism developed among a group of Eastern Ukrainians during and after the Maidan protests for two reasons: first, peoples' interest in maintaining trade ties with Russia and second, growing nostalgia for the Soviet era.[49]

Andrew Wilson notes that historical and identity factors, economic fears, and alienation from the new government in Kyiv were only part of the reason for the rise of the separatist movement in Donbas, Ukraine, in the spring of 2014.[50] The author emphasizes that "historical myths help to provide an ethnic group with a sense of its own identity as a historical and political subject, to connect a given group with a sense of its own past and, to the individual's own sense of identity, helping to make sense of the present."[51]

Iryna Bekeshkina noted that the declared support for irredentism and the popularity of pro-Russian orientation have decreased in the territories controlled by Ukraine in the Donbas, while at the same time there has been a transition from regional to Ukrainian identity. Before the Orange Revolution, Ukrainian national (civil) identity gained positions in Central Ukraine, and ten years later it spread further East and South to encompass the rest of the country.[52]

The authors of the book *Constructing a Political Nation: Changes in the Attitudes of Ukrainians during the War in the Donbas*, prepared by the School for Policy Analysis, National University of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, with the participation of the Ilko Kucheriv Democratic Initiatives Foundation, manifest that "contrary to the Kremlin's expectations, Russian aggression has in fact led to a strengthening of the Ukrainian political nation."[53] In the book, the dynamics of identification of the Ukrainian population are analyzed within the framework of the "Ukrainian Society: Monitoring of Social Changes" project, conducted by the NASU Institute of Sociology beginning in 1992. Respondents were asked to give only one answer to the question: "Whom do you consider yourself first and foremost?" Researchers were interested primarily in the relationship between national identification (i. e., identifying primarily as a citizen of Ukraine) and regional identification. In 1992, national identification was significantly greater than regional identification, 45.6% and 31%, respectively. By 2000, however,

49 Elise Giuliano, "The Social Bases of Support for Self-determination in East Ukraine," *Ethnopolitics* 14.5 (2015): 514, 519, 520.

50 Andrew Wilson, "The Donbas in 2014: Explaining Civil Conflict Perhaps, but not Civil War," *Europe-Asia Studies* 68.4 (2016): 637.

51 Andrew Wilson, "The Donbas between Ukraine and Russia: The Use of History in Political Disputes," *Journal of Contemporary History* 30.2 (1995): 265.

52 Iryna Bekeshkina, "Viina zhurtuvala natsiiu [War Rallied the Nation]," *Novoe vremia*, June 9, 2016, accessed March 31, 2019, https://nv.ua/ukr/opinion/vijna-zgurtuvala-natsiju-144094.html.

53 Iryna Bekeshkina, "Decisive 2014: Did It Divide or Unite Ukrine?," in *Constructing a Political Nation: Changes in the Attitudes of Ukrainians During the War in the Donbas*, eds. Olexiy Haran and Maksym Yakovlyev (Kyiv: Stylos Publishing, 2017), 12.

regional identification (38%) nearly equaled national identification (41%). In 2004 the beginning of a large upward movement in national identification and a corresponding decrease in regional identification was seen. On the heels of the Orange Revolution the national identification rate grew by ten percentage points, to 54.6%, while the regional indicator fell to 31%. The second leap in self-identification as a citizen of Ukraine occurred during the post-Maidan period: in 2014 it grew from 51% to 65%. In the three years from 2014 to 2017, certain changes occurred in other regions: the exaltation of patriotism, which had grown sharply in the summer of 2014, waned, and the overall national identification rate fell in the western region from 70% to 62% and in the central region from 76% to 62%. In the East this rate fell from 67% to 50% (with regional identification at 38%). In the South, the national identification rate in 2014–2017 fell from 60% to 50%, with regional identification at 32%.[54] The authors of the book aptly note that the tragic events of 2014, associated primarily with Russian aggression, fundamentally changed public opinion in Ukraine's regions, and for the majority of citizens Russia turned from being a friend into an enemy. Indeed, Putin gained Crimea (temporarily), but lost Ukraine. In these challenging times, citizens who earlier had identified themselves first and foremost with their local place of residence began to identify themselves above all as Ukrainians. The national identification of Ukrainian citizens began to dominate in the southern and eastern regions of the country for the first time. The tragic events of 2014, including armed military acts with the participation of Russian military forces, the occupation of parts of Donetsk and Luhansk oblasts, and the aggressive ideological influence disseminated through the Russian media undermined the former unity of public opinion of Donbas residents. Today the Donbas is seeking a new identity, and in order for this identity to become predominantly Ukrainian the leadership of Ukraine must clearly say "the Donbas is Ukraine," and act accordingly.[55]

Olga Onuch and Henry E. Haleb study how ethnicity influences politics in Ukraine. The authors of the article distinguish four dimensions of ethnicity: individual language preference, language embeddedness, ethnolinguistic identity, and nationality. The scholars highlight that in the polling a "forced choice" measure is often used, that records answers to questions where people are required to choose a single category with which they identify most strongly. The researchers agree that Ukrainian society is split, but in their opinion this split is very indistinct, as a rule not accompanied by a sense of profound ethnic boundaries separating groups—even at a time of emerging interstate war.[56]

British political researcher of Ukrainian origin Taras Kuzio explores the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian war on changes in the national identity of Ukrainian citizens. He notes that "the long war was a tragedy, but also an impetus for the transformation

54 Bekeshkina, "Decisive 2014," 12–15.

55 Bekeshkina, "Decisive 2014," 31, 32, 33.

56 Olga Onuch and Henry E. Hale, "Capturing Ethnicity: The Case of Ukraine," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 34.2–3 (2018): 84–106.

of national identity, radically changing the attitude of Russian-speaking citizens of Ukraine to Russia," that "the Donbas regional identity was combined with a high level of commitment to Soviet culture, which was also observed in the Crimea."[57] The author notes that "in the East and South of Ukraine, Ukrainian identity is based on territory more than in the West of Ukraine, where identity has a more ethnic and linguistic coloring."[58] Taras Kuzio emphasizes that "since Soviet times, Russian self-identification has been encouraged both at the family and social levels." And in independent Ukraine, Ukrainian identity was promoted as negative.[59] He notes that "the majority of Russian-speaking Ukrainian citizens identify with Ukraine, and the language of communication is not the only or main factor that determines their identity." Kuzio concludes that "since 2014, there has been an increase in Ukrainian patriotism among Russian-speaking citizens, and for the first time among the residents of the Ukrainian-controlled part of the Donbas, there were more people who have a Ukrainian rather than regional identity."[60] Unfortunately, the author does not take into account that a regional identity can be Ukrainian if it is formed as a subnational one. Taras Kuzio concludes that "the annexation of Crimea, the hybrid war and hostile actions of the Russian Federation in the economy, finance and energy fields caused the beginning of a fundamental re-evaluation of the attitude of Ukrainians to Russia and the reconfiguration of Ukrainian identity."[61]

Ihor Stebelsky states that although most people in Eastern Ukraine are Russian-speakers, this does not necessarily make them supporters of the Donbas rebellion, let alone the "Novorossiia Project." He notes that the prevalence of regional over national identity rather than the use of the Russian language influenced how receptive the population is to the Kremlin's affective geopolitical discourse.[62] The author stresses that in 2014 Russia occupied and then annexed Crimea, and subsequently incited and later directly supported a rebellion in southeastern Ukraine, ostensibly in both cases to protect the Russian-speaking population. The fighting in the Donbas region of Eastern Ukraine continues today with a huge loss of life, over 2 million internally displaced persons, and massive damage to the infrastructure. The Russian curators of the Crimean occupation and the war in Eastern Ukraine subsequently introduced the affective Novorossiia narrative, with its allusions to the Great Patriotic War, in order to legitimize the rebels in their fight against "fascist" Ukrainian forces ("anti-fascist" struggle being an element of the Soviet Donbas narrative).[63]

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57 Taras Kuzio, *Viina Putina proty Ukrainy. Revoliutsiia, natsionalizm i kryminalitet* [*Putin's War against Ukraine. Revolution, Nationalism and Criminality*] (Kyiv: Dukh i litera, 2018), 26, 29.

58 Kuzio, *Viina Putina proty Ukrainy*, 73.

59 Kuzio, *Viina Putina proty Ukrainy*, 483, 495.

60 Kuzio, *Viina Putina proty Ukrainy*, 478, 479.

61 Kuzio, *Viina Putina proty Ukrainy*, 477, 499.

62 Ihor Stebelsky, "A Tale of Two Regions: Geopolitics, Identities, Narratives, and Conflict in Kharkiv and the Donbas," *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 59.1 (2018): 30.

63 Stebelsky, "A Tale of Two Regions," 44–45.

Gwendolyn Sasse and Alice Lackner trace the political identities of the inhabitants of a region at war—the Donbas—on the basis of original survey data that cover four parts of the population that once made up this region: the population of the Kyiv-controlled Donbas, the population of the so-called self-declared "Donetsk People's Republic" and "Luhansk People's Republic," the internally displaced persons, and those who fled to the Russian Federation. The results of the survey show that 14% and 20% in the Kyiv-controlled and occupied Donbas, respectively, said that they felt more strongly now that they are "both Ukrainian and Russian." A majority in both parts of the Donbas reported no change in identity: 62% in the government-controlled Donbas and 45% in the self-declared republics. Larger-scale identity changes were recorded among those displaced to Russia (only about 18% of respondents reported "no change"). The authors reach the conclusion that mixed identities remain or become even more important among those who are most directly affected by the war. The authors of the article draw the conclusion that Ukrainian citizenship is (and was) by far the most prevalent self-reported identity in the Kyiv-controlled Donbas and among IDPs, however among those displaced to Russia and residents of the "DNR/LNR," Ukrainian citizenship as an identity has been significantly weakened by the war.[64]

Elise Giuliano, who investigates "popular opinion in Donbas before the armed conflict began, to determine whether the high concentration of ethnic Russians there drove support for separatism," states that "analysis of a KIIS opinion poll shows that, on the one hand, ethnic Russian respondents were divided on most separatist issues, with a minority backing separatist positions."[65] The author stresses that support for unification with Russia has existed among a certain constituency of the oldest generation of Donbas residents who never accepted the Soviet Union's collapse and exhibited a strong sense of nostalgia for the Soviet Union. Survey data indicate that ethnic Russian respondents consistently backed separatist issues in larger numbers than both ethnic Ukrainians and respondents with hybrid identities. Thus, ethnicity continues to be a relevant factor in shaping political attitudes in Ukraine.

Dominique Arel in his article "How Ukraine Has Become More Ukrainian" writes:

> The three unprecedented shocks to the Ukrainian state in and since 2014—violence by the police and protesters, the collapse of the regime outside of elections, and the use of military force by Russia to annex Crimea and sustain a rebellion in Donbas—provide a unique opportunity to revisit the weight of identity factors in political preferences in Ukraine.[66]

64 Gwendolyn Sasse and Alice Lackner, "War and Identity: The Case of the Donbas in Ukraine," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 34.2–3 (2018): 139–57.

65 Elise Giuliano, "Who Supported Separatism in Donbas? Ethnicity and Popular Opinion at the Start of the Ukraine Crisis," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 34.2–3 (2018): 158.

66 Dominique Arel, "How Ukraine Has Become More Ukrainian," *Post-Soviet Affairs* 34.2–3 (2018): 186–87.

The author underlines that long-term trends favorably impacted Ukrainian identity. The first was a huge increase in the number of schools with Ukrainian as the primary language of instruction, which became predominant everywhere, except, revealingly, in the Donbas and the Crimea. The ethnic re-identification probably played an important causal role. People living within the borders of Ukraine were re-remembering their family histories. They were becoming Ukrainians. The author stresses that Ukraine is becoming more Ukrainian, while identity boundaries are hardening, "as evidenced with the significant trends towards Ukrainian re-identification."[67]

Volodymyr Kulyk notes that the Euromaidan, like the Orange Revolution, was perceived by its participants and sympathisers as a unifying popular protest against a corrupt authoritarian regime. Volodymyr Kulyk claims that: 1) Soviet identity gradually declined, while identification with Ukraine, especially among the youth, increased, 2) the political crisis in Ukraine—from the Euromaidan to the experience of war—has strengthened the sense of political unity and state identity in Ukraine, including fostering a higher regard for the Ukrainian language as the symbolic marker of state identity, 3) publicly declared mother tongue and nationality far more than language of communication correlate with public-political stance and choice of side in the Russian-Ukrainian conflict.[68]

Paul D'anieri believes that Russia's occupation has actually undermined Russia's influence in Ukraine's elections. The author writes that the regional identity that underpinned the dominance of the Party of Regions likely still exists, but the money and patronage provided by the "Donetsk clan" may not be replaceable while the city of Donetsk itself lies outside of the Ukrainian polity.[69] But regional identity is developing in all regions of Ukraine, not just in the South and East of Ukraine. The problem is that the regional identity of the inhabitants of the South and East of Ukraine was formed as dominant and supranational, rather than subnational.

Thus, the continuing Russian military aggression and the annexation of the Crimea exert a greater influence on society and Ukrainian national identity than the Revolution of Dignity. Two factors (Russian military aggression and the Russian annexation of the Crimea) have led to greater national integration and higher levels of patriotism among Russian speakers. A third factor is the collapse of the pro-Russian camp. The collapse of the Party of Regions and the inability of the CPU to participate in elections coupled with one fifth of pro-Russian voters unable to participate in elections (because they live in the Crimea, "DNR," and "LNR") means that the pro-European group in Ukrainian society and politics dominates.

Though many studies of various forms of social identity and a sufficient number of studies devoted to the Revolution of Dignity exist, no study of the transformations

67 Arel, "How Ukraine Has Become More Ukrainian," 188.

68 Volodymyr Kulyk, "Identity in Transformation: Russian-Speakers in Post-Soviet Ukraine," *Europe-Asia Studies* 71.1 (2019): 156–78.

69 Paul D'anieri, "Gerrymandering Ukraine? Electoral Consequences of Occupation," *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures* 33.1 (2019): 90, 103.

of the collective identity of Ukrainian citizens has actually been conducted. Thus, the purpose of this study is to theoretically and empirically analyze transformations of the collective identity of the citizens of Ukraine after the Revolution of Dignity and in the context of the Russian-Ukrainian war, based on an integrative approach.

The process of the formation of a collective identity of Ukrainian citizens was investigated by us from 1991 to 2019 in several international research projects of the Center for Ukrainian Studies of Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, which were supported by the Renaissance Foundation, the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the State Foundation for Basic Research, as well as the Association of Ukrainian Banks. These projects were devoted to the study of religious, ethnic, meta-ethnic, local, regional, national, European, planetary, post-Soviet, and other types of identity of Ukrainian citizens living in different regions of the country. A total of 56100 respondents from 18 to 89 years of age were studied (48,5% men, 51,5% women).

In order to study different types of identity transformation, we used the "Who am I?" method of Manfred Kuhn and Thomas McPartland, an adapted technique of "Identity Measurement Scale" by Marco Cinnirella, an adapted questionnaire of collective identity (developed by Riia Luhtanen and Jennifer Crocker), and other methods.

Surveys were conducted in all regions of Ukraine using the method of personal (face-to-face) interviews at places of residence (in the period from 2014 to 2019 no research was conducted in the occupied territories of Ukraine). The sample is represented by the main social and demographic indicators. The reliability of the results of the research was based on the methodological substantiation of its initial positions; using a set of diagnostic techniques that correspond to the purpose and objectives of the study; combining quantitative and qualitative analysis of empirical data; using methods of mathematical statistics with the use of modern data processing programs, representativeness of the sample. The margin of error does not exceed 2.0%. Data processing was carried out with the help of the IBM SPSS Statistics 21.0 application. The methods of factor analysis, correlation analysis, scales congruence calculation, and indicators of descriptive statistics were used for the analysis.

The study held from 2013 to 2019 allowed us to trace the dynamics of the formation of the collective identity of citizens of Ukraine after the Revolution of Dignity: 1) close links were found between monoethnic and national-cultural identity, between civic-political and European continental identity, and between the European continental and European civilizational identity of the respondents (coefficients of correlation — 0.62; 0.57; 0.53); 2) biethnic identity correlates with civic-political identity (coefficient of correlation — 0.52), and European continental identity of the respondents (coefficient of correlation — 0.64); 3) changed ethnic identity is connected with the post-Soviet and European continental identity of respondents (coefficients of correlation — 0.73; 0.51); 4) marginal ethnic identity correlates only with the post-Soviet identity of respondents (coefficient of correlation — 0.59); 5) regional identity is primarily associated with the European continental identity of respondents (coefficient of correlation — 0.54);

6) European continental (that is, geographically motivated) identity began to grow noticeably in 2014–2017; 7) in 2014–2016 the assertion of European civilizational (that is, value-targeted) identity occurred; 8) development of the national and European identity of the respondents reached a high level in 2014–2018; 9) synchronization of ups and downs in the development of national and European civilizational identity at the end of 2013–2019 was discovered; 10) Christian identity is correlated with national cultural, civic-political, and European identity (coefficients of correlation—0.67; 0.61; 0.72); 11) respondents with highly developed national and European civilizational identity are characterized by a high level of subjectity and Ukrainian studies competence; 12) the support of basic values correlates with a highly developed national and European civilizational identity (coefficients of correlation—0.77; 0.68); 13) the regional identity of inhabitants of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions is in a state of semantic transformation; 14) the regional identity of citizens living in the territory of the South and East of Ukraine is gradually becoming subnational.

The dynamics of the formation and development of the European continental identity of respondents is reflected in Table No. 1.

Table 1 (N = 14,000)
Dynamics of the Transformation of the European Continental Identity of Respondents, 2013–2019

LEVELS OF IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT	YEAR OF SURVEY						
	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
High Level	37%	40%	46%	51%	55%	57%	54%
Average	45%	46%	42%	38%	30%	32%	33%
Low Level	18%	14%	12%	11%	15%	11%	13%

The dynamics of the formation and development of the European Civilizational identity of respondents is reflected in Table No. 2.

Table 2 (N = 14,000)
Dynamics of the Transformation of the European Civilizational Identity of Respondents, 2013–2019

LEVELS OF IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT	YEAR OF SURVEY						
	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
High Level	28%	38%	37%	37%	34%	36%	32%
Average	38%	36%	39%	42%	44%	39%	38%
Low Level	34%	26%	24%	21%	22%	25%	30%

The dynamics of the formation and development of the national (civic-political) identity of respondents is reflected in Table No. 3.

Table 3 (N = 14,000)
Dynamics of the Transformation of the National (Civic-Political) Identity of Respondents, 2013–2019

LEVELS OF IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT	YEAR OF SURVEY						
	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
High Level	28%	36%	44%	48%	46%	49%	44%
Average	49%	52%	42%	39%	38%	34%	35%
Low Level	23%	12%	14%	13%	16%	17%	21%

The dynamics of the formation and development of the national (national-cultural) identity of respondents is reflected in Table No. 4.

Table 4 (N = 11,200)
Dynamics of the Transformation of the National (National-Cultural) Identity of Respondents, 2013–2019

LEVELS OF IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT	YEAR OF SURVEY						
	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
High Level	37%	44%	41%	40%	37%	32%	30%
Average	44%	46%	47%	48%	49%	52%	46%
Low Level	19%	10%	12%	12%	14%	16%	24%

The conducted research shows that: 1) the transformation of collective identity is influenced by many factors (one of the most important factors is the mass media, which can, with the help of an information war, destroy any form of collective identity), 2) Ukrainian national-cultural identity was gradually extended to the East and South (2014–2019), 3) the dynamics of civic-political identity growth relative to regional identity were higher in 2014–2018, 4) respondents are sincerely proud of the achievements of Ukrainian citizens in sports and art, considering these as an affirmation of Ukraine, 5) the attitude of respondents towards Ukraine and self esteem of Ukrainian citizens are on the rise.

Our previous research revealed anti-colonial and anti-imperialist mobilizations of Ukrainian citizens, observed during three revolutions in Ukraine (the Student Revolution on Granite, the Orange Revolution and the Revolution of Dignity).[70] In

70 Volodymyr Serhiichuk, Valentyna Piskun and Tetiana Voropaieva, "Transformatsiia natsionalnoi identychnosti: istoriosofski, kulturolohichni ta sotsialno-psykholohichni aspekty

2010–2012, our research recorded a "drift" of European and Ukrainian national identity from the West to the East, but this process accelerated significantly after 2014. In 2002–2014, the regional identity of residents of the South and East of Ukraine was formed not as Ukrainian, but as non-Ukrainian, as a result of the negative information and psychological impact of local media and authorities, the regional identity of residents of these regions becoming not subnational, but supranational. Thus, from 2014–2019, under the influence of Russian aggression, a rethinking and reformatting of certain forms of collective identity of Ukrainian citizens occurred. The voluntary and volunteer movements also significantly influenced the process of the transformation of the collective identity. The Russian annexation of Crimea and the Russian-Ukrainian war of a neocolonial type[71] in Eastern Ukraine has had a powerful influence on the formation of European civilizational and national identity.

Conclusions

The conducted theoretical and empirical study has shown that for many years various forms of collective identity have been formed in the identification matrix of Ukrainian citizens. The factors that had the greatest influence on the activation of civilizational and national forms of collective identity were: the Orange Revolution of 2004, the Eurovision final held in Ukraine in 2005, the European Football Championship final held in Ukraine in 2012, the government's rejection of the scheduled November 2013 signing of an Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU, events of the Euromaidan and the Revolution of Dignity, as well as the Russian-Ukrainian war of a neocolonial type.

A constructive transformation of the political and legal culture of the citizens of Ukraine has occurred under the effects of the Revolution of Dignity and the Russian-Ukrainian war. One important consequence of this process is Ukrainian political nation formation and the emergence of a positive national-cultural and civic-political identity. Continental European identity has gradually acquired the features of civilizational

| The Transformation of National Identity: Historiosophical, Cultural and Socio-Psychological Aspects]," in *Fundamentalni oriientyry nauky* (Kyiv: Akademperiodyka, 2005), 24–53; Tetiana Voropayeva, "The Transformation of Ukrainian Collective Identity in the Context of European Football Championship 'Euro 2012,'" *Zwierciadło etnologiczne. Rocznik Katedry Etnologii i Antropologii Kulturowej Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego* 2 (2013): 207–14; Nina Averianova, "Hromadianska aktyvnist osobystosti u konteksti konsolidatsii suchasnoho ukrainskoho suspilstva [The Civic Activity of the Individual in the Context of the Consolidation of Modern Ukrainian Society]," *Aktualni problemy filosofii ta sotsiolohii. Naukovo-praktychnyi zhurnal* 20 (2017): 7–9.

71 Nina Averianova and Tetiana Voropaieva, "Stratehiia 'rozumnoi syly' yak osnova dlia prypynennia zbroinoho konfliktu v Ukraini ta reintehratsii okupovanykh terytorii [The Strategy of 'Smart Power' as the Basis for Overcoming the Armed Conflict in Ukraine and the Reintegration of Occupied Territories]," *Hileia: naukovyi visnyk* 147.2 (2019): 7–13.

identity. Consequently, a fundamental rethinking of the policy of identity in Ukraine is needed. The adoption of national-cultural, civic-political, and European civilizational identity by the citizens of Ukraine is one of the most important axiological and ideological tasks necessary for the further survival and development of Ukraine as an independent state.

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